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ABSTRACT

This bulletin, prepared by the League of Women Voters, attempts to summarize popularly used methods of desegregation and to make specific suggestions for use in the State of California. State responsibilities for desegregation are presented against the background of Federal and State court decisions. The status of racial imbalance in California schools is assessed and illustrated by charts. A conceptual model of the stages of desegregation based on the experiences of communities in California attempts to outline the stages of development and the dynamics of change. The model includes the effects of laws and administrative acts, the national temper of majority and minority groups, the impact of local leadership, and pressures from minority groups. A series of case studies present resolved and unresolved solutions to the complex range of problems inherent in school desegregation. Bussing, attendance zones, unification, and urban sprawl are central issues discussed. [Not available in hard copy due to marginal legibility of original document.] (KG)

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CALIFORNIA CURRENT REVIEW

OF

HUMAN RESOURCES

Number 3 DESEGREGATING CALIFORNIA SCHOOLS November 1969 revised

League of Women Voters
of California

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INTRODUCTION

Since the founding of the Republic, free public schools have been a cornerstone in the foundation of democracy. In years past, most Americans assumed that the school system provided the equal opportunities for education to help all children reap the benefits that education offers--training for citizenship and jobs, opening of doors to upward mobility. Americans have also considered education the "melting-pot" where all children have a chance to mingle, to learn from each other, and to create from diversity a common American culture.

The facts tell a different story.

In some sections of the nation, de jure segregation served to establish separate school systems which the Supreme Court in its landmark decision, Brown vs. Board of Education, determined were inherently unequal. In other parts of the nation, housing discrimination, populatior movements, and poverty have conspired to create de facto segregation, a situation which many authorities believe to be as devastating to children of minorities as the de jure counterpart.

According to the "Coleman Report," the vast majority of American children attend largely segregated schools, schools in which most of their fellow students are of the same racial background as themselves.

The report, in addition to relating racial imbalance to the quality of education available in minority schools, indicated that children from a given family background, when put in schools of different social compositions, will achieve at quite different levels. Minority children from homes with little educational strength are likely to increase their level of achievement, if placed with schoolmates from homes of strong educational background.

The "Coleman Report" also notes that Caucasian children are the most segregated of all, almost 90% attending schools which are 90-100% white. These children are deprived of the opportunity to know children different from themselves, and to learn the skills and understanding necessary for living in a multi-racial world which is continually growing smaller.

Segregation is only one of many problems afflicting urban schools. When poverty prevents families from providing quiet study areas for children; when books, magazines and other tools of learning cannot be provided by the home; then the schools must provide compensatory materials to help the children catch up. When language used at home is not English or is other than standard English, the schools must find ways to help children move beyond the language barrier. When parents can become involved in the education process, children are better motivated to learn; schools need to establish better working relationships with parents and community groups. Basic to the solution of all these problems is the need to provide more funds--for better trained teachers, for smaller classes, for more facilities, and for innovative programs. Nevertheless, effective desegregation is a part of the answer and in many communities may point the way to alleviation of other problems.

In view of pending court decisions, changing national policies and emphases, and current developments in state and federal legislation, the issue is in a transitional period. The purpose of this CURRENT REVIEW is to explore the background, evaluate the problems, and delineate some of the solutions which may be pertinent to Californi

In the preparation of this publication, many of California's local Leagues participated by conducting local surveys. Information gleaned from these surveys and commentary from chairmen and committees tend to confirm information obtained from the literature studied and from interviews with leaders in education.

This publication makes no attempt to be comprehensive. Many factors affect the course of segregation-desegregation-integration that could not be considered in the space available. The goal has been to present the current information informed citizens need so that they may reach realistic decisions to help their schools move toward integrated education for all children.

DEFINING THE PROBLEM

Statistics cannot be used to delineate the degree of school segregation or integration unless a set of definitions has been commonly accepted. Based on court decisions, administrative law, and usage of the State Department of Education, the following definitions will be used in this CURRENT REVIEW:

De jure segregation--a condition which exists when races or ethnic groups are compelled or expressly permitted by law to use separate facilities.

De facto segregation--a situation that occurs as a result of housing patterns and population movements, which may or may not be aggravated by administrative decisions.

Minority groups--those racial and ethnic groups that are recognized as having social, economic and cultural characteristics distinguishing them from the majority group and having significance for education. In California, as defined by the State Department of Education for the purpose of surveys to determine the extent of imbalance, there are six racial and ethnic groups: Spanish surname (chiefly Mexican-American), other white (the Anglo-Caucasian majority), Negro, Oriental (Chinese, Japanese, Korean), American Indian, other nonwhite.

Racial and ethnic imbalance--a situation in which there is a marked disproportion of an ethnic or racial group in a school in relation to the ratio of such groups in the general student population of the school district. (see p. 9)

Desegregation--actions taken to produce a mixing of white and minority group pupils in schools that were previously homogeneous in racial and ethnic composition.

Integration--those fundamental psychological and institutional changes which take place after desegregation has been accomplished. "An integrated school district...is one which has...achieved both the cultural and structural integration of all its staff and its children and their families into the school system...Children have acquired an understanding and respect for the history, cultural heritage and contributions of all ethnic groups so that there is mutual respect and cultural sharing...Children of all ethnic groups have not only had an equal opportunity to acquire the knowledge, skills and behavior patterns necessary to participate in the mainstream of American life, but have, in fact, acquired them...Staff members, children and parents of all ethnic

groups hold statuses and play roles throughout the school system which are equivalent in power and prestige to those statuses occupied by members of other ethnic groups."*

STATE GOVERNMENTAL RESPONSIBILITY

BUREAU OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS

State concern for school desegregation is a function of the Bureau of Intergroup Relations. The Bureau, part of the Division of Compensatory Education of the State Department of Education, was first organized in 1959. In 1963, it was reorganized to incorporate work on three major objectives:

--To promote integrated schools through consultation, information, and other staff services to local school districts that request assistance or advice on methods to alleviate or prevent school segregation.

--To promote equal employment opportunities through assistance to local districts in recruiting, employing and promoting minority teachers and administrators.

--To improve intergroup relations, alleviate tensions, and enhance integration programs through advisory services to local school districts.

COMMISSION ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES IN EDUCATION

The Commission is a fifteen-member advisory board appointed by the State Board of Education to advise the Board on policy development and implementation. The Chief of the Bureau of Intergroup Relations is its executive secretary.

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*A Manual for the Evaluation of Desegregation in California Public Schools, Bureau of Intergroup Relations, in preparation, pp. 11,12

DESEGREGATION, INTEGRATION, AND THE LAW

The thrust toward school desegregation in California stems from several sources--court decisions, federal law, and the California Administrative Code.

COURT DECISIONS

Both federal and state court decisions have their root in the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States:

> "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States...nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

In 1954, the United States Supreme Court ruled in its historic decision, Brown vs. Board of Education, that de jure segregation is illegal, because

> "...to separate them (Negro children) from others of similar age and qualification solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone... Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."*

The influence of this decision is summarized in a report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights:

> "Later decisions have applied Brown to purposeful school segregation resulting from administrative actions of state or local public officials even where such segregation is not dictated or sanctioned by state or local law. The courts have indicated that such purposeful segregation is unconstitutional even where it is less than complete and even when it is accomplished by inaction rather than by action."*

In one such decision, the 1961 New Rochelle Case, the Supreme Court ruled that it is unconstitutional to arrange or gerrymander school district boundaries for the purpose of obtaining or maintaining racial imbalances even if it does not result in total segregation.

In Branche vs.Board of Education of Hempstead, N.Y., the New York Federal Court ruled in 1962 that the school system must deal with segregation even though the school board had not caused it to come about.

In Hobson vs. Hansen, the U.S. District Court of the District of Columbia in 1967 extended the protection to cover not only race but social and economic class as well. The Court found that neighborhood schools, optional attendance boundaries, and the "track" system of ability grouping all conspired to discriminate against the disadvantaged child.

Not all decisions have emphasized the positive responsibility of school districts. A number of federal and state court decisions have held that, though the Constitution

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*Brown vs. Board of Education as quoted in Racial Isolation in the Public Schools. A Report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967, p. 190

prohibits segregation, it does not require integration; that is, public school pupils have a constitutional right not to be objects of racial discrimination but do not have a constitutional right to attend or refrain from attending a particular school on the basis of racial consideration where there has been no actual discrimination against them.

The Supreme Court, however, continued to move in a more positive direction when, on May 27, 1968 in Green vs. the School Board of New Kent County, Virginia, it ruled that freedom-of-choice plans as adopted by the New Kent County Schools were an insufficient step in moving toward a unitary system. The court noted that in three years no white child had chosen to attend all-Negro Watkins School, which still enrolled 87% of Negro children in the system. In the court's view, the plan had operated to burden children and parents with a responsibility which Brown vs. Board of Education placed squarely on the school board.

FEDERAL LAWS

Several federal laws provide both the "carrot" and the "stick" to the national effort to desegregate schools through the granting or withholding of federal aid. Among these measures are the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act denies all federal aid to any activity in which there is racial discrimination and no systematic plan to eliminate it. Under this Act, the Justice Department can initiate suits in federal district courts against school districts where segregation is alleged to exist or to intervene in such cases brought by citizens. If the court decides that segregation exists, federal aid is then withheld from the district. At the end of 1968 the Justice Department had initiated 76 suits nationwide and had intervened in 53 others brought by citizens The first West Coast case of this type was intervention in a citizens' suit against the Pasadena School District in late 1968. The decision is still pending (see p. 24).

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act provides a variety of categorical aid funds for compensatory education, experimental and innovative programs, library facilities, and others. A 1967 amendment to the Act (the Green amendment) provides that all rules and regulations, guidelines, interpretations or orders issued by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare or by the U.S. Office of Education are to be uniformly applied and enforced throughout the nation. The effect of the Green amendment has been to place equal pressure on both Northern and Southern school districts to take effective action to desegregate schools.

STATE POLICIES

Sections 2010-2011 - Act I

To insure that California school districts recognize their responsibility toward equal educational opportunities, the State Board of Education in 1962 and 1963 adopted two new sections to Title 5 of the California Administrative Code--Section 2010 which established policy and Section 2011 which was intended to implement it. Section 2010 provided: "It is the declared policy of the State Board of Education that persons or agencies responsible for the establishment of school attendance centers or the assignment of pupils thereto shall exert all effort to avoid and eliminate segregation of children on account of race or color."

In a 1963 decision, Jackson vs. Pasadena School District, the California State Supreme Court recognized this policy statement as a legal obligation upon all school boards charged with fixing attendance boundaries. The complaint alleged that the city of Pasadena had redrawn school boundaries in 1961 to exclude in an arbitrary manner certain white students from a predominantly Negro school. Such action was held unconstitutional. The court also opened the door to positive action in alleviating de facto segregation. It stated

> "Residential segregation is in itself an evil...Where such segregation exists, it is not enough for a school board to refrain from affirmative discriminatory conduct...The right to an equal opportunity for education and the harmful consequences of segregation requires that school boards take steps, insofar as feasible, to alleviate racial imbalance in schools regardless of its cause."

Another case of importance to California was Keller vs. Sacramento City School District, which was decided by the Sacramento Superior Court in 1963. This case concerned the site for rebuilding a school destroyed by arson in an area becoming predominantly Negro. The suit was designed to prevent rebuilding on the same site. Although the court gave the school board an opportunity to evolve its own plan for a site, free of court interference, it emphasized the affirmative obligation of the board to come up with a plan promoting better integration in the schools.

Interpreting ESEA

The McAteer Act of 1965, which established the Division of Compensatory Education within the State Department of Education, provided that compensatory education programs shall not "sanction, perpetuate or promote the racial or ethnic segregation of pupils in the public schools."

The California Guidelines for Compensatory Education state that "Compensatory education is not a substitute for the desegregation and integration of the schools. Whenever possible, plans for compensatory education and integration shall be coordinated and implemented at the same time." To implement this goal, the Board of Education has adopted guidelines requiring that school districts include plans for remedying the negative effects of segregation in their applications for Title I funds. Districts must also explain what effect the proposed project will have on segregation, and indicate what actions the district has proposed to alleviate de facto segregation

According to the Guidelines, compensatory education funds may be used to advance school integration in several ways:

> --Funds may be used for services that will prepare target area children for integration.
>
> --Compensatory education programs may follow target area children to their new schools to assist their educational achievement.
>
> --Funds may be used for intergroup relations material.
>
> --Funds may be used to transport children from target area schools to others in the district in order to enhance racial integration and to reduce class size in the target area school.
>
> --Funds may be used for exchange programs and district-wide cultural enrichment projects for target area children.

Sections 2010 and 2011--Act II

Despite court decisions and pressures to meet ESEA guidelines, surveys made by the State Department of Education indicate that schools in California are becoming more rather than less segregated. At the direction of the State Board of Education, Dr. Max Rafferty, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, on April 20, 1967, sent a memo to local school districts reminding them of their legal obligation to take reasonable affirmative steps to prevent segregation.

On February 13, 1969, the State Board of Education adopted amendments to Sections 2010 and 2011 to give firmer guidance to districts on this legal obligation, and to provide a definition of racial and ethnic imbalance which districts could use as a yardstick to measure the extent of segregation in their own schools. The new provisions read:

> 2010. STATE BOARD POLICY. It is the declared policy of the State Board of Education that persons or agencies responsible for the establishment of school attendance centers or the assignment of pupils thereto shall exert all effort to prevent and eliminate racial and ethnic imbalance in pupil enrollment. The prevention and elimination of such imbalance shall be given high priority in all decisions relating to school sites, school attendance areas and school attendance practices.
>
> 2011. SCHOOL DISTRICT AND STATE RESPONSIBILITIES IN PREVENTING AND ELIMINATING RACIAL AND ETHNIC IMBALANCE.
>
> (a) SCHOOL SITES, ATTENDANCE AREAS AND ATTENDANCE PRACTICES. In carrying out the policy of Section 2010, consideration shall be given to factors such as the following:
>
> (1) A comparison of the numbers and percentages of pupils of each racial and ethnic group in the district with their numbers and percentages in each school and each grade.
> (2) A comparison of the numbers and percentages of pupils of each racial and ethnic group in certain schools with those in other schools in adjacent areas of the district.
> (3) Trends and rates of population change among racial and ethnic groups within the total district, in each school, and in each grade.
> (4) The effects on the racial and ethnic composition of each school and each grade of alternate plans for selecting or enlarging school sites, or for establishing or altering school attendance areas and school attendance practices.
>
> (b) RACIAL AND ETHNIC SURVEY. The governing board of each school district shall periodically, at such time and in such form as the Department of Education shall prescribe, submit statistics sufficient to enable a determination to be made of the numbers and percentages of the various racial and ethnic groups in every public school under the jurisdiction of each such governing board.
>
> (c) DETERMINATION OF RACIAL AND ETHNIC IMBALANCES AND CORRECTIVE PLANS. For purposes of these regulations a racial or ethnic imbalance is indicated in a school if the percentage of pupils of one or more racial or ethnic groups differs by more than 15 percentage points from that in all the schools of the district.

> A district shall study and consider possible alternative plans when the percentage of pupils of one or more racial or ethnic groups in a school differs significantly from the district-wide percentage. A district undertaking such a study may consider among feasibility factors the following:
>
> (1) Traditional factors used in site selection, boundary determination, and school organization by grade level.
> (2) The factors mentioned in paragraph (a) hereof.
> (3) The high priority established in Section 2010.
> (4) The effect of such alternatives on the educational program.

On June 11, 1969, the Attorney General of the State of California brought suit against two California school districts under Sections 2010 and 2011. This action was apparently taken independently of the State Department of Education. The Bakersfield and San Diego Unified School Districts were cited for failure to plan to alleviate racial and ethnic imbalance. Bakersfield also faces withdrawal of ESEA funds because of violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, while San Diego faces a citizens suit initiated in December 1967. Both California cases are pending.

HOW SEGREGATED ARE CALIFORNIA SCHOOLS?

Although "segregation" is a word descriptive of what has happened either through law or through housing patterns, it does not provide a gauge for measuring the extent of the problem. There is no nationwide legal definition of racial imbalance in the public schools, although an occasional state has passed legislation providing a mathematical definition. Massachusetts defines it thus: a school is in imbalance if the majority of the pupils are nonwhite, that is if they are in excess of 50% of the total number of students in that school. In the recently adopted California definition, imbalance is understood to exist if any one minority group or combination of groups differs by over 15% from the district-wide percentage of such group or combination of groups. For example, if a minority group or a combination of minorities constitutes 25% of the population of a school district, a school will be in imbalance if its enrollment includes over 40% or under 10% of that minority or combination of minorities. Under the same definition, a school will be in imbalance if its majority enrollment exceeds 90% or is less than 60%.

Although only recently adopted as policy, this definition has been used for several years by the State Department of Education as a rule of thumb to measure what has happened in California public schools.

The first racial and ethnic survey conducted by the State Department of Education was made in the Fall of 1966; the second in the Fall of 1967. The surveys have indicated graphically the extent of racial and ethnic isolation in California schools. Among the highlights of the reports is the following information:

> --One out of every four pupils is a member of a racial or ethnic minority group. Out of a total enrollment of 4,841,193, minority enrollment was composed of Spanish Surname--14.3%; Negro--8.4%; Chinese, Japanese, Korean--2.2%; American Indian--0.3%; other nonwhite--0.7%.

--The southern counties in the state have more Spanish surname and Negro pupils than northern counties. The northern counties have more Oriental and American Indian pupils.

--The proportion of Spanish surname and Negro pupils is higher than average in Grade 1 and lower than average in Grade 12.

	Total enrollment	Grade 1	Grade 12
Spanish surname	14.3%	16%	10%
Negro	8.4%	10%	6%

--Most minority children are concentrated in a relatively small number of schools and school districts. The 1967 survey reports that "...215 California districts each reported at least one school with 50% or more minority enrollment, and there were 987 such schools. More than 40% of those schools were in the eight largest districts; in the twelve months since the previous survey the number of predominantly minority schools in the eight districts had increased from 395 to 412. In a sample comprising 56 other districts throughout the state, the number of such schools also had increased from 92 to 102."

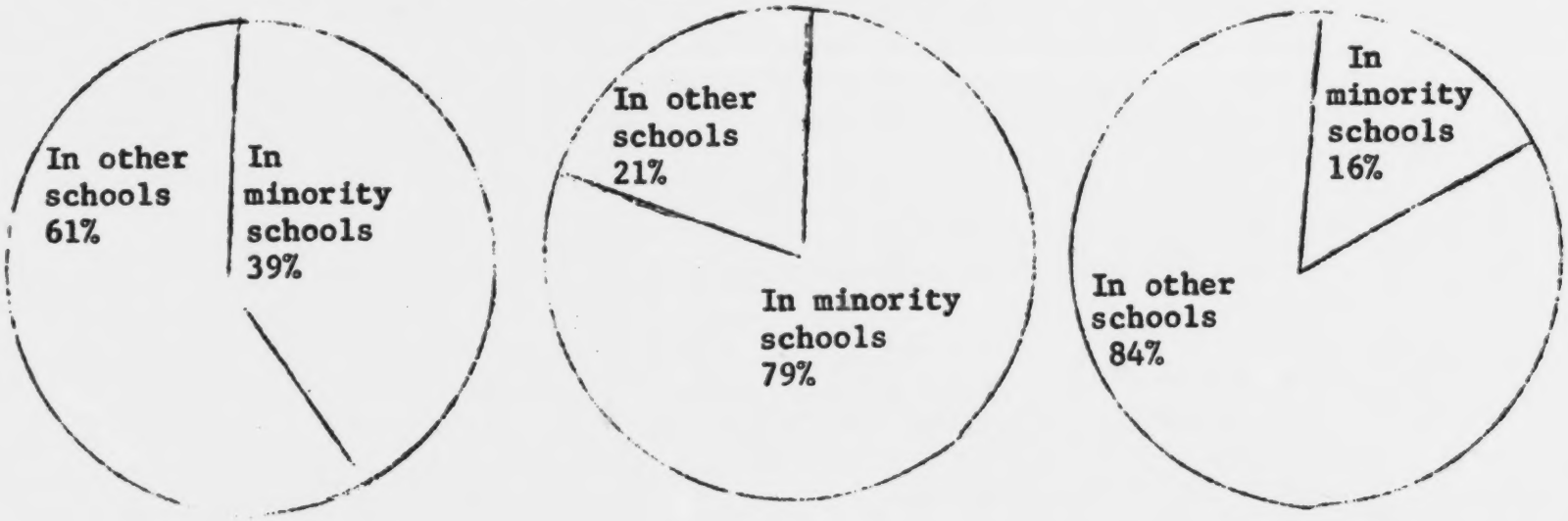
--Although de facto segregation is more severe for Negro than for Spanish surname pupils, it is a significant factor for both, especially in the metropolitan areas and large school districts where minority concentration is heaviest.

--More than 80% of all Negro pupils and more than half of all Spanish surname pupils in the eight largest districts attend imbalanced schools.

Two measurements were used in the 1967-68 survey to determine the extent of de facto segregation. Figure 1 (p. 11) shows the extent of segregation in two ways:
A--Minority enrollment of 50% or more compared with all other schools in the state;
B--Minority enrollment in "imbalanced" schools, i.e. those in which any ethnic group enrollment varies by more than 15 percentage points from the district average, compared with all other schools in the state. Figure 2 (p. 12) indicates the extent of racial imbalance in the eight school districts which in 1966 had enrollments in excess of 50,000 pupils each. These districts are: Oakland, Fresno, Long Beach, Los Angeles Unified, Sacramento Unified, San Juan, San Diego Unified, and San Francisco. Figure 3 (p. 13) compares the number of schools in imbalance in California. It indicates that mixed schools are more prevalent in small than in large districts, while in large districts Spanish surname pupils are more likely to be in mixed schools than are Negro or "other white."

FIGURE 1
RACIAL IMBALANCE IN CALIFORNIA SCHOOLS, 1968

A: All pupils in Grades K-12: Percentage in schools of 50% or more minority enrollment, and in all other schools. Fall, 1967*

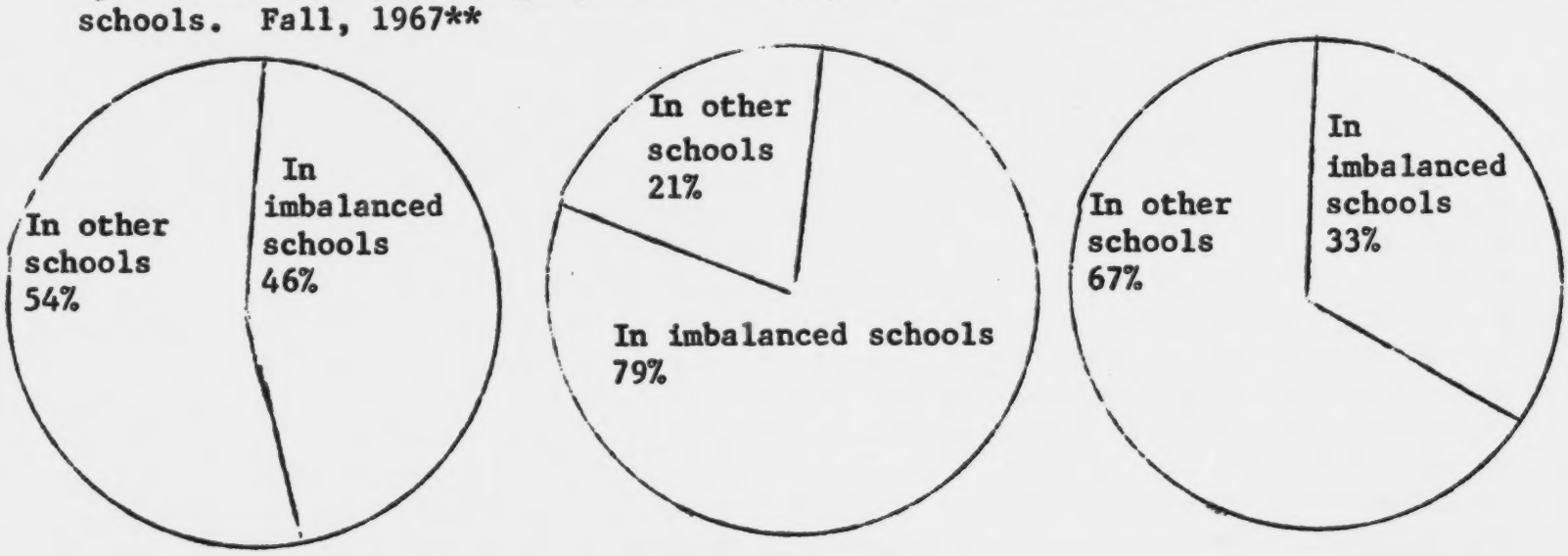

In other schools 61%
In minority schools 39%
In other schools 21%
In minority schools 79%
In minority schools 16%
In other schools 84%

Spanish surname
593,360 pupils

Negro
354,166 pupils

All pupils
4,345,175

B: All pupils in Grades K-12: Percentage in schools deviating from district percent by more than 15 percentage points in any racial and ethnic group, and in all other schools. Fall, 1967**


In other schools 54%
In imbalanced schools 46%
In other schools 21%
In imbalanced schools 79%
In other schools 67%
In imbalanced schools 33%

Spanish surname
593,360 pupils

Negro
354,166 pupils

All pupils
4,345,175

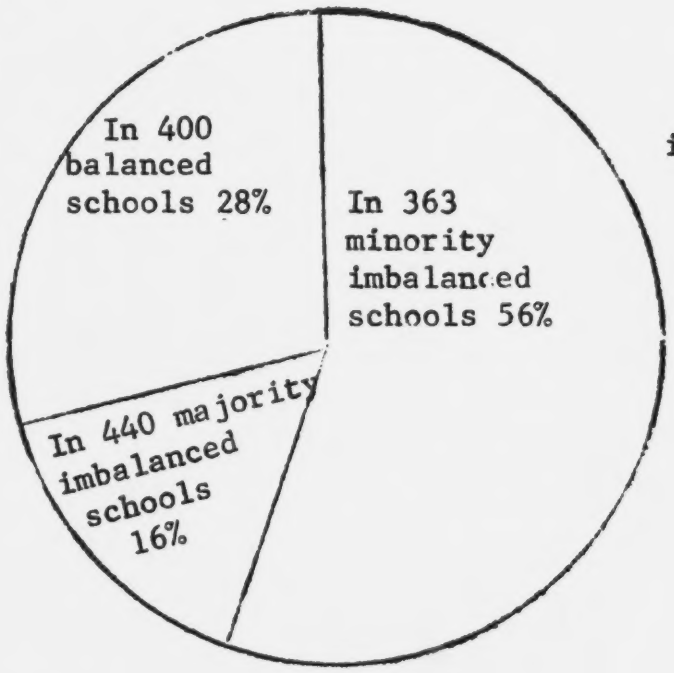
---

* From Figure 1, Distribution of Racial and Ethnic Groups in California Public Schools, November 1968

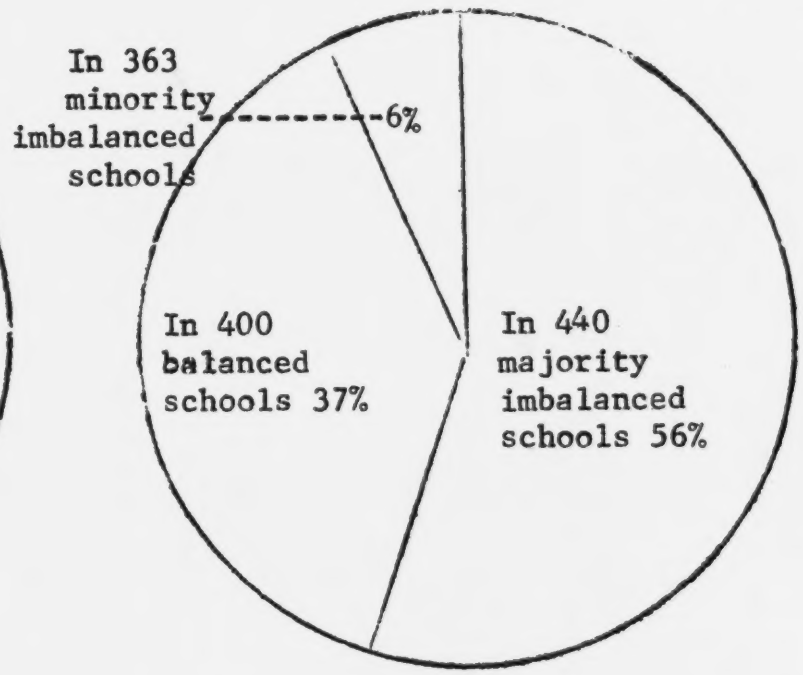
** From Figure 3, Ibid

FIGURE 2

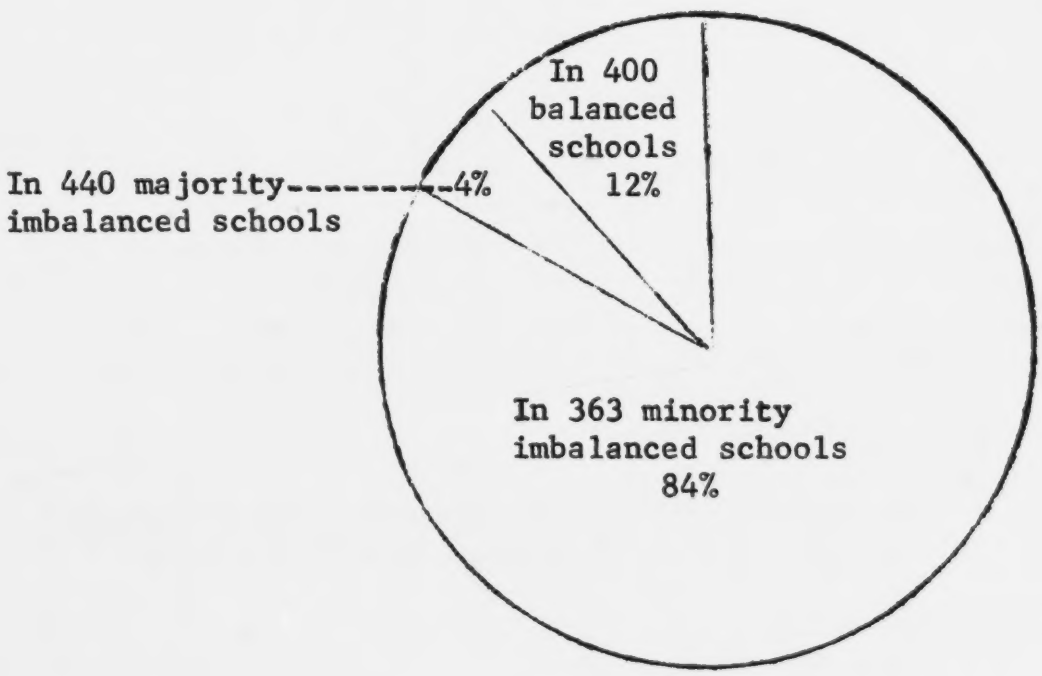
Pupils of three racial and ethnic groups in schools of eight large districts (over 50,000 enrollment), Fall, 1967*



Spanish surname
165,288 pupils



Other white
683,999 pupils

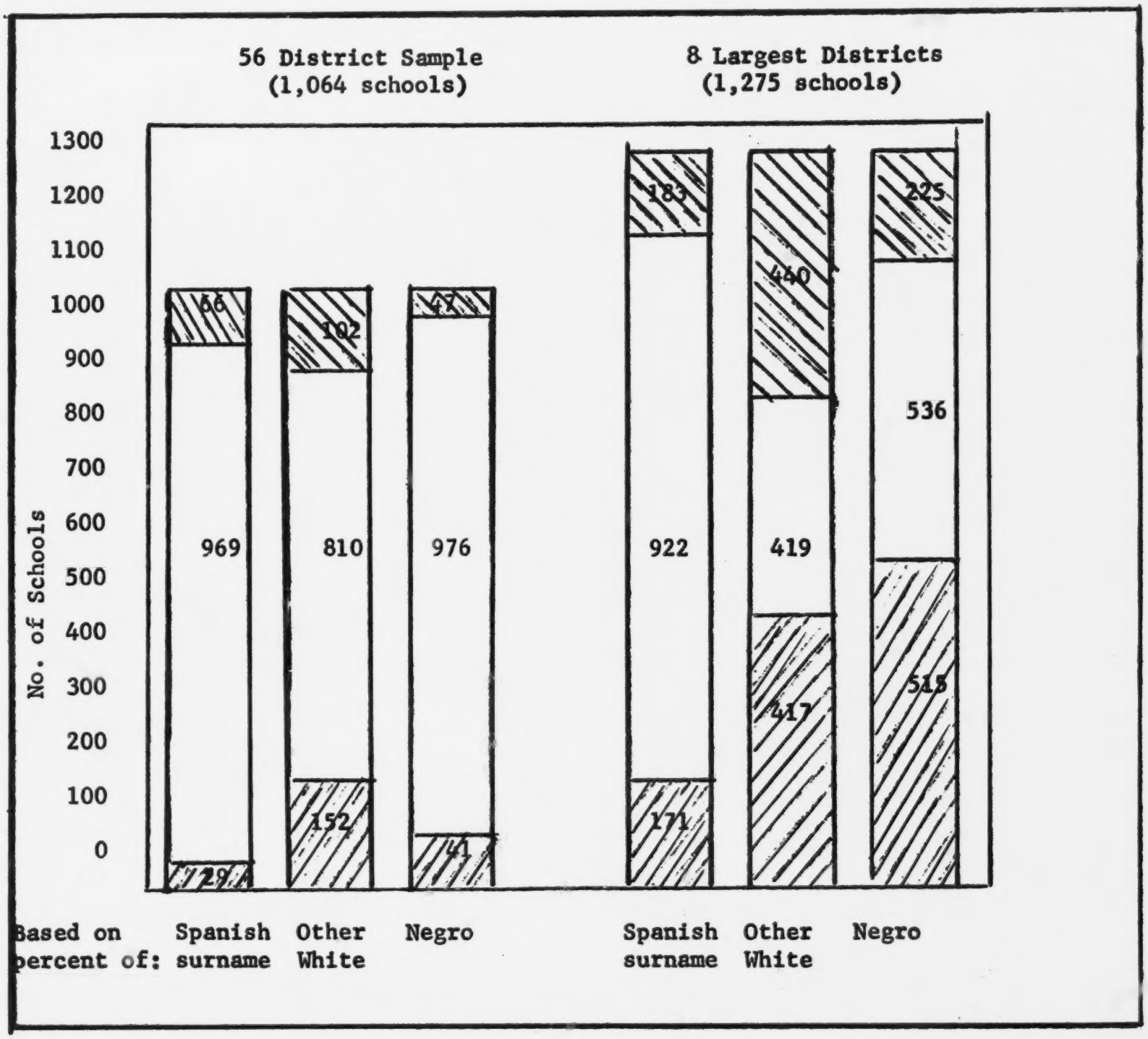


Negro
219,369 pupils

* From Figure 2, Distribution of Racial and Ethnic Groups in California Public Schools, November 1968

FIGURE 3

Schools in two study groups compared on integration scale, 1966*



High concentration schools--more than 15% above state average percentage of minority pupils

Mixed schools

Low concentration schools--more than 15% below state average percentage of minority pupils.

*From Figure 6, Racial and Ethnic Survey of California Public Schools, Part One: Distribution of Pupils, Fall, 1966

Basic to the problem of de facto segregation in California is the factor of housing patterns, the profound attachment citizens in urban communities have to "neighborhood" schools, and the genuine anxieties all parents share about the effect social change will have on their children.

Although assignment of children to a neighborhood school has never been a legal right, long adherence to the practice and convenience of placing children in schools within walking distance from home has created the belief that such practice is right, proper, and almost constitutional. In some school districts the neighborhood school can be retained when desegregating schools; in others various new geographical patterns of school attendance must be substituted for the familiar neighborhood school. Implementation of some of these programs requires transportation to be one of the elements. Opposition to "busing" has been the central focus of controversy, sometimes serving as a mask for opposition to school desegregation. Since parents have long used public transportation as a means to provide other educational experiences for their children, the issue then is not "busing", but how to provide quality education and intercultural and interracial contacts for all children.

Some of the major techniques are discussed in the following pages.

REZONING SCHOOL ATTENDANCE BOUNDARIES

In some communities, school attendance boundaries have been deliberately drawn to insure segregation. In others, changes in housing patterns have created increasing racial imbalance in certain schools. The process can be reversible. School boards have redrawn boundaries to desegregate schools or to improve racial balance; even the time-dishonored practice of gerrymandering has been used to effect a more balanced mix.

SCHOOL SITE SELECTION

New sites or replacement sites are so located that attendance boundaries will ensure racial and ethnic balance. Many school districts in California will have an opportunity to think creatively about replacement sites as a result of the mandate from the Legislature to replace by 1975 the pre-Field Act schools (those built before rigid earthquake safety standards were adopted in 1933).

OPEN ENROLLMENT OR FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Each student is permitted to attend the school of his choice regardless of nearness to his home, provided that there is a vacant seat available after children who reside in the attendance area have been accommodated, and provided that his entry to that school will not further its imbalance. In some districts transportation is provided; in others it is not.

CLOSING SCHOOLS

Schools in predominantly minority areas are closed or used for administrative or other non-educational purposes. Pupils are then sent to schools throughout the district.

PAIRING SCHOOLS (THE PRINCETON PLAN)

Attendance areas of two or more nearby schools are merged so that each school serves different grade levels for a new, larger attendance area. For example, Grades 1 through 3 might attend one elementary school while Grades 4 through 6 might attend the other, where previously both schools had housed Grades 1-6.

EDUCATIONAL PARKS

Development of new schools can group some or all of a school district's educational facilities in a campus-like setting, using centrally organized common facilities and drawing a student population from the whole community. There may be one facility in a small city or several parks for a large city to serve different segments of the area or different grade levels.

The educational park concept is largely untried. Fort Lauderdale, Florida, plans eventually to have all students, kindergarten through graduate school, on one site. Pittsburgh is embarking on an educational park system for secondary schools.

EDUCATIONAL COMPLEX

A variation of the educational park concept, the complex broadens attendance areas by grouping existing schools and consolidating their attendance zones. For example, in a group of six schools in an extended area of the city - two predominantly minority and four predominantly Caucasian - all six in the educational complex would be available to all children in that area. Each of the six might be different in some educational offerings as well as in grade levels served. One might provide intensive work for Grades 4-6, specializing in mathematics and sciences; another for Grades 1-3, with the same specialty; a third for Grades 1-3, specializing in language arts.

URBAN-SUBURBAN MIXING

The previously discussed plans are suitable for implementation within one school district but do not affect the larger community which includes both the central city with its concentration of minorities and the largely white suburbs. Through contractual arrangements between school districts, often with volunteer help, some minority children may be brought to an Anglo-Caucasian school in a suburban area.

SOME PROBLEMS

Each of the above techniques presents certain strengths and weaknesses.

Several methods which are useful for compact school districts with limited concentrations of minority children would accomplish nothing in larger urban centers. Redrawing of attendance boundaries, care in site selection, and school pairing all can be effective tools in medium-size school districts. In addition to desegregating schools, educational parks or complexes may offer an effective way to utilize educational resources in large school districts. However, the concept is largely untried and the costs can only be estimated. Controlled open enrollment, which might be considered tokenism in a medium-size district, could in a large district provide increased intercultural experiences, which would stimulate the majority community to begin thinking about longer-range solutions.

With the exception of urban-suburban mixing, the proposed solutions deal only with de facto segregation within the boundaries of a school district; they do not touch upon the problem of segregation as it exists within the broader community or metropolitan area. A glance at an ethnic distribution map of any metropolitan area provides a striking illustration of the problem. School district boundaries can be as effective in segregating schools as gerrymandered attendance zones. Furthermore, many school districts in California are still not unified and unification plans and elections are profoundly affected by the existence of minorities within one of the non-unified districts.

ELEMENTS OF SUCCESSFUL DESEGREGATION

Despite difficulties, in most districts, schools can be desegregated if the community has the will to do so. Among the elements necessary to insure a successful program of desegregation, according to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights are:

--Leadership: School officials must be committed to the goal.

--Community participation: This involves both community groups and parents.

--Quality education: A variety of efforts must be made to improve the quality of education for all children.

--Interracial friction minimized: Conditions must be created under which minority and majority group students learn to understand and accept each other.

--Classroom desegregation as well as school desegregation as part of the plan: This can involve abandoning the "tracking" program.

--Attendance areas enlarged to serve a balanced racial and social class population: It may be necessary to provide transportation.

THE DESEGREGATION PROCESS

Since Brown there have been various moves to eliminate de facto segregation by California school districts. With few exceptions, the process has been rocky and uphill. An extended study of the process has been conducted by a group of scholars under the auspices of the Bureau of Intergroup Relations, supported by a grant from Title V, ESEA. Section I of the unpublished study, prepared by Dr. Jane Mercer, Associate Professor of Sociology, University of California at Riverside, outlines a general framework or pattern of the desegregation process as identified from historical evidence.

Admittedly an abstraction, the pattern (or conceptual model) sought the common elements of the many unique localized events, hoping that clarification of the historical process would enable districts to move more easily toward the goal of school integration. The study touches upon the effect of the many groups within and outside the community in developing programs for integration. The role of the school board and administration, of the majority and minority communities, of communications between the various groups, the impact of outside events such as court decisions, the use of outside technical experts - these are all explored for their impact on the process. Although a summary cannot hope to convey the full flavor of the report, some highlights are presented here to indicate the stages of development and the dynamics of change.

THE DESEGREGATION PROCESS--STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT

The process involves a time sequence of twelve stages indicating movement from segregation to partial desegregation, to comprehensive desegregation, to the ultimate goal--integration.

Segregation

Stage 0: Single Ethnic District

This is usually suburban, white "Anglo", protected from responsibility for minority student education by school district boundaries.

Stage 1: Traditional Separatism

Almost universal before the Brown decision, traditional separatism still exists in some rural areas. Minority schools, including many for Spanish surname children, exist to train children for traditionally servile occupations. "Children are happier with their own kind and don't want to compete with 'Anglos'," is the rationale accepted by both majority and minority communities.

Stage 2: Color-blind Phase

The school board and administration have been forced to be aware of and to actively defend existing separatism. Arguments advanced are, "The schools do not keep records on racial or ethnic classifications...We have no information on achievement levels of different groups...Special help to minority children would be reverse discrimination...If they want to 'make it', all they have to do is work a little harder."

Stage 3: Color Awareness and Denial of Responsibility

Outside pressures such as ESEA Title I guidelines and the State ethnic survey have forced districts to become "color aware." School board and administration admit that a problem exists but declare that it is not the responsibility of the school district to solve it. "The fault lies with housing patterns (or broken homes, disadvantaged backgrounds, non-English-speaking families)...It's just as wrong to adjust attendance boundaries to desegregate schools as to segregate them..." At this point, minority groups begin to document and complain about the inferiority of educational facilities that serve their children.

Stage 4: Segregated Compensatory Education

In response to pressures, the school district attempts all means to redress educational inequities short of providing desegregated schools. A "blue-ribbon" committee, which does not include extremists from either side, may be appointed to study the issues. The majority community is beginning to understand that a problem exists and splits into three groups--those who support minority aspirations, those who oppose, and those who are uncommitted. The direction in which the uncommitted move is crucial. There is increased pressure from minority groups for educational improvements.

Partial Desegregation

Stage 5: Token Desegregation

Measures are taken by the school district that are essentially piecemeal, such as open enrollment to relieve overcrowding in minority schools, and shifting of school boundaries. No long-range commitment is made. The majority community becomes more polarized and "neighborhood school" groups are organized to fight integration. There is continued pressure from minorities for broader programs. Cleavages within the minority community become evident.

Stage 6: Major Desegregation

Either through failure of token desegregation to yield significant accomplishments or through the expressed disillusionment of the minority community, the school district may move to more expanded programs to include a larger percentage of children. Polarization within the majority community continues and cleavages within the minority community become stronger. Despite the action by the school district, significant changes have not occurred. The disillusioned minority may move to violent or to extra-legal protest.

Comprehensive Desegregation

Stage 7: Crisis in Decision Making

Failure of token programs has led to extra-legal confrontations--boycotts, sit-ins, arson. Intensive activity for the school district results. Outside experts may be called in. Many meetings are called, some secret. There is intense polarization in the community; communication media become involved; the uncommitted take sides. A new advisory committee may be appointed which incorporates extremist views from both sides as well as moderate positions.

Stage 8: Commitment

A comprehensive plan for desegregation is developed with a timetable for implementation. Acceptance by the majority community depends upon costs and the projected effects on majority children. Acceptance by the minority community depends upon the types of projects proposed and upon the strength of the separatist movement.

Stage 9: Developing Support

The school district actively cultivates support of the staff, the majority and minority communities and students. Civic groups are involved in assisting in this phase.

Stage 10: Operationalizing Goals

The district outlines new goals for integrated education and seeks necessary changes in curriculum and methods. There is much involvement of the community in the implementation of goals.

Stage 11: Implementation and Evaluation

Evaluation programs are developed to determine what progress has been made by both majority and minority children. The community seeks feedback on evaluation and demands necessary program adjustments.

Integration

Stage 12: Cultural and Structural Integration

No district has yet achieved this goal. Should it be achieved, it is presumed that integration will not be a static situation but will require constant adjustment to meet changing conditions.

THE DYNAMICS OF CHANGE -- CONFLICT-ACCOMMODATION

This pattern has developed in response to both external and internal pressures. The external dynamics include laws and administrative acts emanating from the state and federal governments along with changes in the national scene and the temper and mood of both the national majority and minority groups. Internal dynamics for changes stem from two sources. In a few instances, educators and administrators within a district have provided leadership to desegregate without waiting either for legal or political pressures. The major impetus, however, has come from pressure, both legal and extra-legal, from affected minority groups.

SOME CASE STUDIES

Converting goals into programs is an infinitely complex process. No one solution is applicable to all communities. The case reports presented here are intended to illustrate some of the community differences, the problems faced and resolved or not resolved, and some of the methods used to desegregate schools.

RIVERSIDE--A HISTORY OF DESEGREGATION

By summer, 1968, Riverside had progressed further in desegregation than any other city of its size in the State. The history was studied in depth and used to illustrate the "conceptual model" of the desegregation process discussed in the previous chapter. A brief summary is presented here.

Stage 0: Single Ethnic District, 1870-1911 There were relatively few minority pupils, chiefly Mexican-American with a scattering of Negroes. The growth of agriculture resulted in the in-migration of Mexican farm labor.

Stage 1: Traditional Segregation, 1911-1960 Three segregated elementary schools served minority children. Anglo-Caucasian children living in the attendance zone were bused to white schools.

Stage 2: The Color-Blind Phase, 1958-1961 Although boundaries set for a new school intensified segregation, the school board rationalized its action in terms of "natural boundaries." The initial protest about the proposal was not addressed to the issue of segregation.

Stage 3: Color-awareness and Denial of Responsibility, 1961-1962 When a second group of parents openly raised the question of segregation, the President of the Board of Education described the problem as one of "deep-rooted sociological significance" that went beyond the jurisdiction of the Board. A citizens' committee report recommending steps to desegregate schools was not implemented although the Board permitted limited voluntary transfer.

Stage 4: Segregated Compensatory Education, 1962-1963 A limited program of compensatory education was initiated in one elementary school. Within a year, minorities were pressing for partial desegregation and expanded compensatory education.

Paving the way for Stage 5 were many factors: newspaper articles substantiating the extent of segregation, development of vocal leadership and organizational strength in the minority community, the policy statement and administrative code changes initiated by the State Board of Education, and the Jackson decision all contributed. There had also occurred a significant change within the school system. A substantially new school board, including a new president, had been elected and a new associate superintendent, sympathetic with minority goals, was put in charge of curriculum and instruction.

Stage 5: Token Desegregation, 1963-1965 School boundary changes and an extended open enrollment policy brought a few more minority children into white schools. Emphasis was placed on expanding compensatory education. Minority leaders urged school officials not to allow compensatory education to become a substitute for real integration. In 1964, the local chapter of the NAACP awarded a plaque for outstanding service to the school district for its compensatory education program. Yet, also in 1964-65, as minority parents could see no immediate results from compensatory education, discontent grew. The associate superintendent sent a memo to the superintendent suggesting that ways to desegregate the entire system be explored.

Stage 6: Major Desegregation This stage occurred after the crisis.

Stage 7: The Crisis in Decision Making, August and September 1965 A series of crises developed in August and September just prior to the opening day of school. During the Watts riots in Los Angeles, tensions had begun to develop within the minority community over the school transfer policy. Petitions were circulated, a boycott of segregated schools threatened, and during the early morning hours after Labor Day, a portion of one of the segregated schools burned to the ground. Although the fire was a clear case of arson, no relationship between the fire and the threatened boycott was ever imputed by leaders on either side. Extended negotiations were held between minority parents and the schools with no results. On the first day of school, two segregated schools were boycotted and 256 children were enrolled in "Freedom Schools" developed by boycott leaders. Assistance was offered the school district by the Bureau of Intergroup Relations of the State of California.

Stage 8: Commitment to Desegregation, September 1965 In this very difficult situation, the board president using several intermediaries, including a representative of the Bureau of Intergroup Relations, arranged a meeting with local citizens involved in the boycott movement. After consulting each school board member individually, he worked with the local school administrators to present a tentative plan for transporting the children displaced by the fire to various schools throughout the system. From several tense and stormy meetings with the community to discuss the plan, the board members came to realize that total desegregation was the only answer. The minority community agreed to give the school board 30 days to create a desegregation plan and the board publicly stated its full commitment to total desegregation. The boycott was called off.

Stage 9: Developing Support, September through December 1965 A citizens' Advisory Committee, which included vocal minority leaders and representation of all shades of "Anglo" opinion, was appointed. Desegregation proposals developed by the district and the advisory committee included the closing of segregated schools; transporting of children to other schools with compensatory education programs to follow them to their new classrooms; and boundary changes to be made as needed to maintain a desegregated district. The community was kept informed of proposals as they were developed. Open meetings were held allowing for free exchange of opinion. Although much opposition was expressed by individuals, many civic groups endorsed the proposals.

Stage 10: Operationalizing Goals, October 1965--to present Tentative goals and methods of implementation were emerging which stressed improvement of academic achievement of minority pupils to lead to cultural integration.

Stage 11: Implementation and Evaluation--In Progress The desegregation of the school district has produced new challenges for teachers, broader opportunities for children, and a dynamic effect on the entire educational system. Complete cultural and structural integration is, however, still in the future.

SACRAMENTO--TIME TO EVALUATE

Since 1963 when the Keller decision required the school district to consider desegregation in selecting a replacement site for a junior high school, the Sacramento school district has proceeded steadily toward the elimination of de facto segregation. Two highly segregated elementary schools have been closed and their pupils distributed among 14 other schools. Attendance boundaries of three additional elementary schools with large minority populations have been redrawn and students reassigned to five elementary schools with smaller percentages of minority pupils. While desegregating the system is progressing, tensions still exist.

Project Aspiration, a plan of action for the alleviation or elimination of the adverse effects of de facto segregation, was adopted by the board of education in

April, 1966 and made possible by a federal grant under Title I of ESEA. The project plan incorporates teacher training, additional resource teachers, extra counseling, and ongoing compensatory education activities.

At the end of the second year, Project Aspiration was evaluated on performance tests of pupils and on opinions of teachers and principals of receiving schools and of parents of the pupils who were transferred.

On the basis of matched pair data (integrated project pupils matched with pupils from the same sending schools who were not integrated),

> "Two years later, the integrated project pupils scored at higher levels on all tests employed and made larger gains in all areas. The differences in gains for fifth and sixth grade pupils were found to be statistically significant in language ability and arithmetic achievement and approached statistical significance in total ability, reading achievement and language achievement."

On the Stanford reading test,

> "...the integrated project pupils, on the average, progressed 0.9 grade equivalents in reading achievement during the 1967-68 school year. This rate of progress following integration was nearly double their previous rate of progress."

Teachers were in strong agreement (more than two-thirds) that the integrated pupils improved in attitude toward school, in social adjustment, and in feelings of success. Over half of the teachers agreed that the integrated pupils made "general" improvement except in their attendance records.

Most teachers (71%) felt that integration had no effect (neither positive nor negative) on resident pupils except in three areas. About one-third noted improvement in adaptability and attitude of resident students toward other pupils, but one-fifth noted a negative effect on discipline. Over half the teachers indicated that project and resident pupils accepted each other as friends while another 30% believed that children accepted each other but preferred friendship with their own groups. 11% of the teachers felt that the children did not accept each other.

Over half of the parents of the integrated pupils noted improvement in their children's interest in learning and their reading habits at home, and almost all considered that their children had made many new friends.

Thirteen of the fourteen principals responding indicated that the most noteworthy accomplishments of the project were in areas of social development and pupil interaction. Principals were divided on negative effects. Of eight responses, four mentioned distance that pupils must travel, three mentioned increased discipline problems. There were scattered concerns about the need for extra services.

Project Aspiration suffered a temporary set-back in 1967 when parents and community opposed the phased closing of the Washington Elementary School which is located in the heart of the Mexican-American community. The student body was 57.5% of Mexican descent. Despite protests, and despite an election held by parents and the community, the Board of Education has held fast to its decision to close the school. A survey during the first year of the Washington School desegregation program indicates a generally favorable experience for the Mexican-American pupils.

BERKELEY--THE BUSES RUN BOTH WAYS

The Berkeley plan for total school integration went into effect in September 1968. It is the most complete in the state and possibly the nation for communities of around 100,000 population. It is based on the realignment of schools into an educational complex, unique in that it involves two-way busing, bringing white children to schools in minority neighborhoods, and vice-versa.

Ten smaller schools in predominantly Anglo-Caucasian neighborhoods house kindergarten and grades 1-3. Grades 4-6 are taught in four larger schools in predominantly Negro neighborhoods.

The three junior high schools have been desegregated beginning in 1964. Two schools serve both 7th and 8th graders and the third, now a part of the senior high school, handles all 9th grade classes. Since Berkeley High is the only high school in the district it has always been integrated.

All Berkeley children will be bused to elementary school at some time in their lives. A private firm provides most of the buses under contract with the school district. (A few buses are owned by the district.) In 1969-70, about 3,500 children will be bused. Twenty minutes is the average bus ride.

An intensive program of preparation was initiated by the school district prior to each new phase of implementing the plan. Citizens committees, public forums, extensive use of volunteers and a door-to-door canvass were among the techniques used Continual contact is maintained with parents through publication of a lively tabloid which each month focuses on a different aspect of school programming. Cooperation of parents in P.T.A. groups has contributed to mutual understanding. Negro and white co-chairmen work together on various projects to bring parents closer to the schools and in contact with each other.

Two-way busing is only the first step of the Berkeley program. Continual innovation in program and methods are built into the long-range plan.

A Student Center has been established at each 4-6 school. This is for children under stress whose behavior would disrupt the learning provess for others. The teacher in each center continues the child's instruction while helping him solve his problems. The child returns to the classroom as soon as possible. Volunteers and guidance personnel are involved in this program. These centers have been very helpful and will be continued.

The School Resource Volunteers is a private group with three paid staff members which provides volunteer help in Berkeley schools under contract with the school board. In 1968-69 about 650 volunteers are working regularly in all school programs, each at the request of an individual teacher. The group also has a community resources section which provides experts from various fields to lecture and to assist in special projects. This section has fulfilled more than 500 requests during the school year 1968-69.

The school district has developed courses in minority culture and history to be required for all personnel working with students. Before integration began, special inservice training programs were provided on methods to help the integration process and to teach heterogeneous classes.

Curriculum units have been developed on Afro-American culture and history for 5th grade and for secondary schools.

In order to prevent a resegregation as a result of the "tracking" system, the Board of Education has committed itself to a policy of changing to heterogeneous grouping wherever feasible or applicable. Some trial classes have been started in the junior

high schools. At the high school level, nearly all social science and a few English classes have become heterogeneous. Since these classes to be successful must be smaller, cost is a major factor in the speed with which the change to heterogeneous grouping can be made.

It is the policy of the school board to hire qualified teachers and administrators who are themselves members of minority groups when possible. There were few openings for 1969-1970 but 45% of those hired were members of minority groups, bringing the total percentage for the district to 27%.

PASADENA--THE COURTS AND ATTENDANCE ZONES

Jackson vs. Pasadena School District was a landmark case in 1963, establishing the responsibility of a school district to take positive steps to establish attendance practices that would alleviate racial imbalance.

Pasadena is again in court, the defendant in two cases based on a similar issue.

After school board election in April 1967, the new board rescinded a redistricting plan in a portion of the high school district which would have tended to improve the racial balance.

Spangler vs. the Pasadena Board of Education was first filed in a state court, using state guidelines on discrimination, but the judge refused an injunction to reinstate the desegregation plan, saying that the new school board should have time first to study new courses of action.

After the plaintiff's attorney attempted twice unsuccessfully to negotiate changes with the school board, the suit was filed in the U.S. District Court in Los Angeles. The Justice Department asked to intervene on behalf of the plaintiffs, and on December 4 received permission.

The intervention of the Justice Department is a result of both a request by the plaintiffs and a report by the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The HEW report was initiated by a computerized selection of cities of a given size in California and was completed in June of 1968. Since the intervention of the Justice Department is based upon denial of equal protection of laws under the Fourteenth Amendment and does not claim violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, there is no threat of withdrawal of federal funds.

The second case pending is Williams vs. Pasadena Board of Education, first filed in Pasadena on April 11, 1968, and then transferred to Los Angeles County Superior Court. It charges that: (clause 1) the school board has intentionally segregated schools and thereby furnished unequal opportunity in education, and (clause 2) schools are racially imbalanced in violation of the case of Jackson vs. Pasadena School Board.

The Counsel of Los Angeles County filed action to strike clause 2 which the judge denied. The County Counsel then filed an answer and cross complaint which denied racial imbalance, segregation or inequality of educational opportunity in Pasadena, and sought a declaration by the court that all the school board's present attendance and zoning policies were lawful. The plaintiffs filed an answer together with an additional complaint that (1) Pasadena was covered by a system of racial covenants enforced by California law prior to 1948, leading to racially segregated housing (i.e., de jure segregation), and that (2) since children must attend neighborhood schools which are segregated because of racially segregated neighborhoods, the school board is perpetuating de jure school segregation. The school board moved to strike the new allegation but the judge ruled that it was relevant. The case has not yet been set for hearing.

League of Women Voters Study

The League of Women Voters of Pasadena has just completed an extensive study of the effect of segregation on Pasadena schools. Results of the study tend to confirm information gleaned from other communities. General findings based on statistical evidence indicate that when a school reaches the point where 50% of its enrollment is non-white, the remaining Caucasians will flee rapidly into either private schools or other public schools with a higher percentage of whites. Pasadena schools as they become non-white also tend to become overcrowded, and with overcrowding comes deterioration in program and quality of staff.

Pasadena and its Suburbs

An interesting sidelight to the Pasadena story was reported in the San Gabriel Valley edition of the Los Angeles Times in mid-January of 1969. Three school board trustees were reported to be distressed that the burden of solving racial difficulties rested on Pasadena because Pasadena had welcomed Negro residents while neighboring cities had not. Singled out particularly by Trustees were the cities of Arcadia, Glendale and San Marino.

The Times, in a feature article on January 26, excerpted statistics from district ethnic surveys to provide factual background on the issue. The distribution--not an untypical pattern for a city and its suburbs--is as follows:

Ethnic Distribution

District	Students	Negro	Oriental	Spanish surname
Pasadena	31,484	8,872	935	2,422
Arcadia	10, 132	0	38	278
Glendale	25,182	6	187	1,694
La Canada	4,839	0	16	44
San Marino	3,574	0	10	37
South Pasadena	3,816	26	155	186

Comments from suburban school officials as reported by the Times:

"--I think it is a statement of fact that the districts surrounding Pasadena do not have the same type of student population but I doubt whether schools can be blamed for that. It is a matter of housing patterns, not school patterns."

"--Our position is and always will be to provide the best education we can for all students."

A New School Board Acts

A change in the composition of the Board of Education in June 1969 led to some alleviation of ethnic and racial imbalance. In July of 1969, the Board redrew high school attendance boundaries to transfer more Caucasian students from the "most overcrowded, most white" high school to the "least crowded, most minority" high school effective as of September 1969.

The Board also directed the Superintendent's Master Planning Committee to report by January 1970 with a plan for integrating all secondary schools.

The administration is also moving ahead with in-service training for teachers and administrators, and with plans for sharing facilities by transporting some elementary pupils.

Important developments have also taken place in connection with the Spangler Case. In late September 1969 the Federal Court of appeals in San Francisco ruled that the Justice Department could extend its suit to include the elementary and junior high schools. The Pasadena Board of Education decided not to appeal the ruling. With the court trial scheduled for November, the Board instructed its attorneys to negotiate with the Justice Department.

RICHMOND - URBAN EDUCATION IN CRISIS

The Richmond School District, unified in 1965 to encompass seven communities in Contra Costa County, is a district in serious trouble. The schools had been underfunded, voters having refused four times since 1952 to increase the operating tax rate.

White families have been moving to the suburbs at an ever-increasing rate, leaving black children in elementary schools in the older urban areas. In the fall of 1968, court action was brought to compel the district to integrate the Verde Elementary School in North Richmond, a school with a black enrollment of 97%. The Court ordered the district to present a plan for this purpose and subsequently approved the plan. The plan involved three phases to occur over a period of three years starting in the fall of 1969. Integration was to be accomplished by two-way busing between designated clusters of schools. This plan was vehemently opposed by a massive grass roots organization called United School Parents which supported three successful candidates for the school board election in April 1969.

On December 11, 1968, the Association of Richmond Educators declared sanctions on the Richmond District. The California Teachers Association quickly followed. The Association of Richmond Educators said sanctions would not be lifted until an adequat tax rate increase election had been passed by the community and the teachers had negotiated their priorities on apportionment of funds. Integration was one of the priorities to be nogotiated.

A $2.50 tax rate increase election was defeated (28,719 to 18,572) along with moderate school board candidates committed to integration of the district. An overwhelming majority (3 to 1) of the people of the Richmond Unified School District voted in three conservative board members to make the five-man school board solidly committed to neighborhood schools and opposed to integration by two-way busing. The three new board members' main campaign slogan had been "Education...not transportation."

After the $2.50 tax rate increase election was defeated in April, the National Education Association also imposed sanctions on the Richmond District. This was the first time triple sanctions (local, state, and national levels) had ever been imposed on a school district.

At its first meeting, July 1, 1969, the new board: 1) rescinded the integration plan accepted by the court; 2) stripped the Superintendent of his powers and responsibilities; 3) elevated the Deputy Superintendent to a new post, "Associate Superintendent," with all the powers and responsibilities of a superintendent. At the August 20, 1969 board meeting, the Superintendent was appointed as a consultant on staff reorganization for the district for a period of sixteen months (he still had three years remaining of his contract as superintendent), and his resignation as Superintendent was accepted.

At the new board's second meeting, the "Associate Superintendent" presented an integration plan which involved open, voluntary enrollment in which each of ten predominantly black schools was clustered with several white schools. Not all the predominantly white schools in the district were involved in this plan, only those

supposedly that had student vacancies. The school district will provide transportation (busing) for students involved in the open enrollment plan.

The Contra Costa Legal Services Foundation brought suit to force the school district to show cause as to why the original integration plan was rescinded. The Contra Costa County Presiding Superior Court Judge gave the school district until June 1970 to prove that their voluntary integration plan was working. The Contra Costa Legal Services Foundation has appealed this decision to a higher court.

During August, an intensive two week enrollment program was conducted by the district with extensive coverage by the local press. By the end of August, approximately 550 students out of 44,000 in the district had volunteered under the open enrollment plan. In the Richmond Unified School District, approximately 24% of the school population is nonwhite. Almost all of the students volunteering under this plan are black students moving from black schools to white schools. The district's stated goal is to have 750 students in the open enrollment plan by the time school opens September 10th. That would be equal to about one-third of those who were to have been involved in busing under Phase I of the original integration plan.

A second tax rate increase election for $1.50 was passed July 8, 1969, (16,558 to 14,852) after the new board took office and had already rescinded the integration plan and replaced the Superintendent. At the August 20, 1969 board meeting, the board approved the financial aspects of a negotiated comprehensive agreement with the Association of Richmond Educators. The Association of Richmond Educators announced plans to begin procedures to lift sanctions.

The people advocating neighborhood schools successfully demonstrated through the April school board election and July 8th tax rate increase election that they represent the majority feeling in the school district. However, the district is bitterly and deeply divided in many ways - racially, philosophically, and educationally. Although a tax rate increase election has been passed, the district still has many major problems to solve before all will be well in the Richmond schools.

LOS ANGELES--THE PROBLEM IS SIZE

"How do you integrate a system spread out over nearly 500 square miles, where its two most distant schools are 70 miles apart? This is the real problem." So said James E. Jones, former President of the Los Angeles Board of Education in an interview with Jack McCurdy in the Los Angeles Times shortly after adoption of the new Administrative Code regulations on racial balance. Such integration, according to Mr. Jones, would entail moving 160,000 students at a cost of $100 million for buses and new buildings plus an additional $20 million for operating costs.

There is no question that Los Angeles schools are seriously imbalanced. Negro school population is 22.6% of the total and Spanish surname is 20.5%. Most of these students live in the extended areas of minority housing--the ghettos and barrios.

Like other large urban districts, Los Angeles faces a continuous financial crisis. Prospects for teacher recruitment and student achievement in minority schools have become grim. The schools have become the center for intense minority unrest.

There have been some attempts at integration projects in Los Angeles. The stated policy of the district is to give consideration to the achievement of racial balance in the choice of locations for new schools. However, schools are still being built and enlarged in ghettos and barrios, with the obvious result that segregation will be continued. Attempts at promoting balance have been less than successful, however. A new high school, Crenshaw, was located where it would promote balance, but by the time construction was complete, "white flight" insured that its attendance area was almost wholly segregated.

An "open school" policy was initiated several years ago permitting transfers to underpopulated schools on a first come, first served basis. More white children took advantage of the plan to transfer from integrated schools to "open" schools and the policy was abandoned. Instead, about 1,000 minority children are bused from the ghetto areas to these underpopulated schools. Optional attendance zones have also been eliminated as a means of alleviating segregation.

Project Apex is an educational complex providing special programs in five senior high schools. Each local high school is a subject matter center: one emphasizing mathematics and science; one, languages; another, arts; and so on. Many of the expensive tools - the business machines, the language and science laboratory equipment - were donated by business and industry. Project students attend a home school, and are bused to the subject matter center for enriched classes. The project is federally funded. About six hundred minority students are involved. Although Apex has done little to promote integration, its supporters believe it has done much to add quality to both minority and integrated schools in the project.

An integration suit, Crawford vs. Los Angeles Board of Education, is in Court at the time this is written. The suit was filed by the American Civil Liberties Union, which contends that the school system is not doing enough to reduce de facto segregation. The court hearings have been extensive, and the documentation, at least, may make this a landmark case.

Within the minority communities in Los Angeles, many groups, feeling that all else has failed, are now demanding decentralization and local control. Bills have been introduced in recent sessions of the Legislature to split the Los Angeles School District into a number of smaller districts. Opponents of these attempts note that such division of the district would institutionalize segregation and would leave minority enclaves with a tax base totally inadequate to support their educational needs. A study is now being conducted by a joint Legislative Committee.

The Los Angeles school board has initiated an experimental program to provide 18 elementary, junior high, and high schools with a certain degree of budget autonomy. Citizens advisory units are to help plan the educational program and advise the principal on expenditures. Other types of area decentralization are also under consideration by the board.

THE PENINSULA--TO UNIFY OR NOT TO UNIFY?

"The Peninsula," the area which lies between San Francisco and San Jose, was once an exclusive, upper-income suburb of "the City." In recent years, it has acquired both industry and low-income families. San Mateo and Palo Alto are two major cities on the peninsula, each in separate counties. Only Palo Alto has a unified school district.

The San Mateo City School District (elementary) desegregated its schools in 1966 by closing two predominantly minority schools and busing the students to other schools. The district administration and school board provided the leadership in initiating the plan without pressure from minority groups. Volunteers and substitute parents are extensively used, and an innovative program utilizing special assignment teachers helps the district move more rapidly toward genuine integration.

The policy of open enrollment for minorities in the high school district has been instituted to maintain integration at the secondary level.

Palo Alto, in the mid-peninsula, is in Santa Clara County.
Between these two cities of San Mateo and Palo Alto lie eight elementary school districts and the Sequoia High School District all in San Mateo County. One elementary district, Ravenswood, which serves the community of East Palo Alto, is predominantly black--87% of its enrollment is Negro. Although East Palo Alto is adjacent to Palo Alto, the two are in separate counties.

There is a recognized need for development of a unified school system in the Sequoia High School area, if the schools are to develop the capacity to finance themselves for running expenses, new facilities, and new programs. How to unify has been the unanswerable problem. In 1965, voters overwhelmingly turned down a proposal to unify the district along existing high school boundary lines. A new proposal developed in 1968 would have split the high school district three ways. Although the plan was developed on the basis of many factors other than race, the net effect would have been to create two districts that would have largely Caucasian student bodies. The third district, which would have included Ravenswood, would incorporate both the wealthiest and poorest areas of the county, with very few middle-income families. It is anticipated that in a few years, minority students would have numbered half the enrollment. The plan was rejected by the State Board of Education in February 1969, chiefly because of ethnic factors.

Some leaders in the Ravenswood District have been unhappy with the unification proposals for other reasons. Trustees believe that they are making progress with innovative programs because Ravenswood, as a disadvantaged district, is eligible for extra help. There is also a strong separatist movement in East Palo Alto. A proposal which might be considered at some future time is unification of the South County districts with the Palo Alto Unified District. Despite county boundaries, there is an area identification between the communities of South San Mateo County and Palo Alto. In September 1968, Palo Alto Unified accepted 75 Negro students in an interdistrict transfer from the Sequoia District. The contract has been renewed for the 1969-70 school year.

With unification still remote, the Sequoia District Board has directed the superintendent to develop an integration plan for the existing high school district by June 1970 with implementation to take place in September 1971. As an interim measure, a voluntary transfer plan was instituted in April 1969 under which students at the predominantly black school could transfer to other schools in the district - minority students to any of the four predominantly white schools and Caucasians to a racially balanced school; non-minority students at any of the other schools could transfer to the predominantly black school. For the 1969-70 school year, 240 students have transferred out of the black school; of these 18 are Caucasians moving to the racially balanced school. Virtually no students have elected to transfer to the black school.

THE FUTURE: MORE QUESTIONS THAN ANSWERS

Passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 with its open-housing mandate may, over the long term, ease the need for action by school districts to desegregate. However, until low-income housing is dispersed through all neighborhoods in a community, or until there are major changes in the economic status of most Negroes and Mexican-Americans, urban ghettos will remain.

Meanwhile, racial and ethnic isolation not only continues in California schools but is increasing. Although many factors have contributed, failure of school districts to deal with de facto segregation in its early stages has surely contributed to its growth.

Medium-size districts in medium-size cities seem better able to develop viable desegregation programs than do large districts. In adopting amendments to the Administrative Code (see p. 8), the State Board of Education hoped to encourage more such districts to maintain racial and ethnic balance and to prevent the development of largely segregated schools as housing patterns begin shifting.

The logistics of desegregation and the financial crisis overtaking many urban districts require that citizens look for different ways of improving education. Desegregation programs in Los Angeles and Oakland have reached very few children: without vast infusions of new money, neither desegregation nor quality education can be implemented.

Because all else has failed in big city districts, there is a strong thrust by minorities to demand decentralization of schools under community control. Indeed, in some districts, demands for community control have reached the crisis level. The issue is complex:

> --For many, it is simply one of pragmatic necessity. Parents and the community are considered able to do as good a job operating the schools as is now being done through the central administration.
>
> --For others, there is a philosophical rationale behind the demand for community control. Before there can be genuine integration, it is argued, there must be a meeting of equals. Self-confidence and autonomy gained through Black or Brown power and through cultural identity is a way to achieve such equality.
>
> --A third element supports community control in complete rejection of the concept of an integrated society. Power is seen as a means to maintain, develop, and upgrade racial or ethnic separatism.

For Americans committed to the goal of an integrated society, the movement toward community control presents a dilemma. Assuming that decentralization is a desirable step at this point in history, can it be implemented within the present administrative and financial structure of education? What changes need to be made? Can school districts institute such changes and simultaneously be committed to seek new methods to alleviate segregation? Can such changes be implemented without further institutionalizing segregation?

The most isolated of all groups in California is the white majority living in the suburbs. Despite the protection offered to suburban schools by district boundaries, the symbiotic tie of the suburb to the city requires that the isolation be recognized and its negative effect on suburban children, as well as upon minority children in the urban ghettos, somehow dealt with.

In the ferment to achieve integrated schools (or community control) minority parents are beginning to make clear that the changes they seek are a means to an end--that of achieving quality education for minority children. White parents, hearing the challenge, are taking a fresh look at education, sometimes defensively, sometimes openly; in many school districts, parents of both races and many ethnic groups are asking how quality education can be achieved for all children.

The tumult and shouting accompanying educational change is disquieting to most Americans who see no easy answers. Compensatory education does not automatically increase achievement. Desegregation does not lead to instant brotherhood. Community control does not magically provide a supply of competent teachers at salaries the district can afford to pay. To achieve results, different methods must be tried, often in combination, but no one is sure of the formula. Yet out of the ferment are coming new ways of looking at what we conceive to be the goals and methods of education; and new and more realistic contacts are being made between racial and ethnic groups. Out of these contacts can come a deeper level of understanding and an ultimate capacity to answer the more difficult questions.

Desegregation is one of the answers. In some school districts it is working. Where it is working, integration, though distant, is in sight.

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